

# The Spokesman

## WEEKLY

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## "United" Akali Dal's Tirade Against Accord Will Generate Bad Blood Opposition To Its Clauses Totally Puerile

"United" Akali Dal's decision to launch a propaganda campaign from August 16 onward against the accord signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Shiromani Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on July 24 will further split the Sikhs and unnecessarily generate bad blood among their factions.

It will also add sinews to Hindu Suraksha Samiti, Punjab Shiv Sena and Punjab Hindu Vahini which are already gnashing their teeth against the Sikhs and denounce the accord as "complete surrender to Akalis".

Baba Joginder Singh, convenor of UAD's ad hoc committee, has not pointed out specific flaws in the accord. His biggest grouse is that he, and not Sant Longowal, should have been invited for talks by the government. According to him, the Sant has no official position in the community, as he had submitted his "resignation" to the Baba.

The Baba is a venerable old man. But at his age of 84 years men are bound to lose correct perception of events and facts. The Sant did write a letter to the Baba several months ago in which the former asked the latter to take positive steps to forge unity between two main Akali factions—one led by the Sant and the other headed by Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi. Nothing more, nothing less. This letter could not be described by any stretch of imagination as "resignation" from presidency of Shiromani Akali Dal.

Later events have shown that Sant Longowal commands a far bigger following among Sikhs than the Baba or any other leader. That was why the central government chose to negotiate with the Sant.

Maybe the Baba feels encouraged by the disagreement with

the accord openly echoed by SGPC President Gurcharan Singh Tohra and former Chief

Minister Prakash Singh Badal. On August 6 Sardar Tohra had a closed-door meeting with the Baba in Amritsar.

Sardar Tohra says he is opposing the accord because he was "kept in the dark about it". This is a confession that his opposition is born of personal pique and not of material defects in the agreement.

Sardar Badal feels let down by the Sant's failure to secure general amnesty for army deserters of June 1984. More so because, according to him, these men told the various courts martial that they mutinied after listening to his statement over the BBC.

Sardar Badal's moral duty  
(Continued on last page)

## Akalis Must Set Up Committees To Present Punjab's Case Before Three Commission

### Facts And Figures Weigh Heavily In State's Favour

Akalis must sit up with immediacy and form panels to present Punjab's case before the three commissions to be set up by the centre within the next few days.

One commission is to pinpoint Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab which can be given to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. Another commission will settle claims and counter-claims by Punjab and Haryana over each other's territory. The third, a tribunal to be presided over by a supreme court judge, will apportion de novo surplus Ravi-Beas waters among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan.

Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal has acted with tremendous speed. He has appointed a committee of senior ministers to identify Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab which could be claimed by his state. Another committee will collect data and material to present Haryana's case about the waters' distribution.

Punjab government, by contrast, is moving at a snail's speed. Governor Arjun Singh

has asked his machinery to assemble the desired info. But there is nothing like the expeditious attention which the three issues at stake deserve.

Since the accord has been hammered out by Akalis, the BJP's Punjab unit, in keeping with its traditional stance of Sikh-phobia, will not break even a small straw to take up cudgels on Punjab's behalf, though Hindus, their proclaimed proteges, stand to gain most from the new dispensation.

For instance, Chandigarh is mostly Hindu-dominated city. Its merger with Punjab would increase the population ratio of Hindus.

Likewise, Abohar-Fazilka belt is also populated more by Hindus than Sikhs. Its retention, again, would prevent Hindu ratio in the state from going down.

Most of the Punjabi-speaking

villages on Punjab-Haryana border have more Hindus than Sikhs. Their return to Punjab would be in the interests of state Hindus.

But, strangely, BJP, proclaimed champion of Hindu causes, is sitting with folded hands. Rather, it might help Haryana grab as much Punjab's area as possible merely to spite Akalis. This is rank betrayal of Punjab.

As the accord was signed against the wishes of Congress(I) unit in Punjab, it is also not likely to act with desired zeal or promptitude.

This leaves only Akalis in the field. There are so many retired engineers and administrators as well as research scholars who have wide knowledge of the issues involved. Their services should be utilised to pile up facts and figures which, nonetheless, weigh heavily in Punjab's favour. Let it not be said that after wresting the commissions from reluctant central hands, Akalis were found wanting in presentation of Punjab's case.



## Time Not Opportune For Elections In Punjab

### Precarious Peace Is Most Likely To Be Disturbed

Whether elections to Lok Sabha and state assembly be held in Punjab is the question facing the central government.

As president's rule is due to expire on October 5 and a clear 42-day notice is required to the electorate, the decision has to be made before August 15 at the latest.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is on record that he would like to avoid amending the constitution again to enable New Delhi to extend president's rule beyond October 5. Punjab Governor Arjun Singh is keeping cards close to his chest. It is on his recommendation that New Delhi can take the most vital decision.

Punjab Chief Electoral Officer S.L. Kapur has had meeting with Chief Election Commissioner R. K. Trivedi in New Delhi on August 5. The deputy commissioners have been asked to ascertain whether it would be possible to hold elections. On their reports would depend the entire matter.

Congress (I) is going whole hog to fight the elections. The AICC(I) last week sent more than 40 observers to Punjab to tour the state, contact local leaders and pick up "suitable candidates" from each constituency. The party's state unit has been clamouring all along for a popular government. Its men have been smacking their lips to have fresh taste of fishes and loaves of office.

BJP, CPI and CPM have also bestirred themselves into activity to face the masses.

But both the Akali factions

are keeping their counsel to themselves. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has said that his party would consider the issue when an announcement about the election schedule has been made. A similar view has been expressed by Baba Joginder Singh, ad hoc convener of the "united" Akali Dal, the rival faction.

The atmosphere in the state, though calmer than before, is still surcharged. This is, in the main, due to the fact that more than 6,000 Sikh leaders and youths are still locked behind prison bars. About 1,800 persons were recently released but, as if to keep the numbers at the same level, more than 1,500 have since been hauled up on charges

of being "terrorists". Their kith and kin are burning with rage against this zulum and high-handedness, as most of them are innocent.

If the call to the country is made, this subdued anger might erupt into the open. The activists of All-India Sikh Students Federation are just waiting for an opportunity to whip up passions from public platforms both against the government and the Longowal faction. Various political parties, which will enter the fray, would most certainly tear one another to pieces. This, in turn, might upset the precariously-perched peace at this moment.

It would be better if New Delhi delays the elections for another year or at least till after January 26 next when the territorial claims and counter-claims of Punjab and Haryana would have been settled with a finality.

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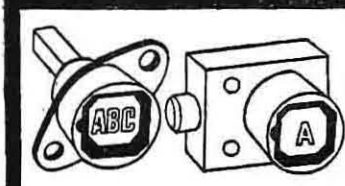
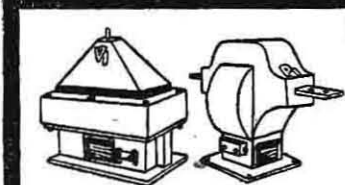
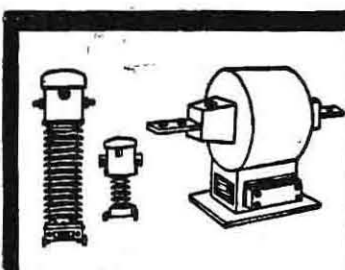
10th August 1955

### SIKHS AND THE CONGRESS

(Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala's article)

August 15th is a day of retrospection and introspection. In all sincerity I ask the Congress High Command, if they have ever cared to take stock of the political situation in the Punjab. Do not the majority community and the minority community stand apart from each other, one doubting the bonafides of the other? Is it not the duty of the Congress Party, which is ruling the country at the moment, to remove this tension, and to take steps to knit the various communities of the state into a compact nation by removing the legitimate grievances, wherever they may be found to exist? Not only that, the Sikhs are being labelled as 'disruptionists', 'disloyal', separatists. This is the unkindest cut of all. Is it not a fact that the Sikhs have always been in the vanguard of the struggle for independence? Have they not made great sacrifices and undergone untold sufferings in the national cause? Is it not a historical fact that the Khalsa took birth to save the country and the Hindu population from the oppression of the oppressive rulers of the time? If these are incontrovertible facts, then why must the Sikhs be so dubbed? Will it do any good to anybody to keep a virile major minority of the border State of the Punjab constantly dissatisfied and in a state of ferment?

The urgent need of the hour is to bring about reapproachment between the Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal, which represents the considered opinion of the Sikhs today. I can say without any fear of contradiction that the Congressite Sikhs have lost the confidence of their community and stand isolated. I would request Pandit Nehru to take the matter in his own hand and heal the running sore for all time. He has so far been listening to the Congressite Sikhs around him. Let him now hear the representatives of the Shiromani Akali Dal who alone can deliver the goods; and then come to an independent decision, so that the energies of the Sikhs may be directed in to constructive channels.



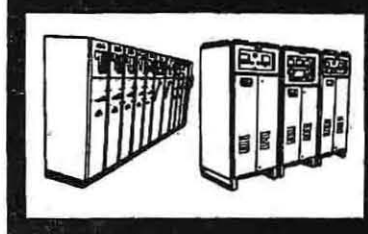
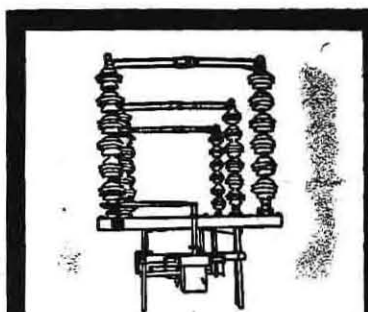
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## A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

He who knoweth the True Being,  
Know him to be the True Guru;  
O Nanak, the Guru's disciple is saved by his companionship  
And by singing the praises of the Lord!

—Guru Arjan Dev

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## Carry Colleagues Along

The Government-Akali accord, signed on July 24 by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Shiromani Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, has been widely acclaimed by all political parties and media in India. Both the leaders have been showered with kudos for exhibiting sagacity and statesmanship and, thereby, ending the four-year trauma of agony and fear. However, there are a few discordant notes, especially from the rival Akali faction headed by Baba Joginder Singh and the hotheads of the All-India Sikh Students Federation; their opposition was a foregone conclusion, as they have been ignored by the government and, thus, reduced to the status of non-entities. This is a bitter pill for them to swallow quietly. The noises made by them cannot have much impact on the Sikhs, much less on Hindus, but their nuisance value cannot be denied.

Quite surprising has been the continued opposition to the accord from former Punjab Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal and SGPC President Gurcharan Singh Tohra. They were exercising their democratic right when they picked holes into the accord during the conference of Akali bigwigs at Anandpur Sahib on July 26. But when the accord was approved by an overwhelming majority—Sardar Badal and Sardar Tohra were the only ones to oppose it—their duty was to fall in line with others. Though both refuse to part company with Sant Longowal and vow to continue as "disciplined soldiers" of the party, yet their opposition, which is now more muffled than vocal, is an avoidable irritant. On the face of it, both these leaders are nursing a grievance of injured ego, inasmuch as they were not allegedly taken into confidence during the last stages of the accord. On the other hand, the Sant contends that he did ask them to reach New Delhi on July 25 but they chose to stay away.

Both Sardar Badal and Sardar Tohra must accept a rap or two on the knuckles for this alleged "neglect" or "cold-shouldering," if any. Five senior members of Sardar Badal's group, including former Development Minister Atma Singh, have walked into Baba Joginder Singh's parlour and the former chief minister has not denounced them. This, in a way, could be taken to mean tacit support to or at least acquiescence in their change of loyalties. Maybe Sardar Atma Singh wanted to give vent to his anger at being defeated by Sardar Tohra for SGPC presidentship. But then this does show that most of our leaders think first of feathering their own nest than of the party interests as a whole. Sardar Tohra's ire is not clear to the naked eye. He was re-elected as SGPC President with Sant Longowal's help. But it would be an act of wisdom for the Sant to soothen their ruffled feelings and try to carry them along with him. The party cannot afford to have another split, either horizontally or vertically.

## NATURALISM AND GURBANI

By : Dr. Wazir Singh

In this age of bewildering diversity, in fields of philosophy and religion as in other areas, interpretation of a scripture is bound to cross the frontiers of conventional orthodoxy. In the case of the holy *Guru Granth*, hardly has any interpreter ventured to suggest that the compositions enshrined in it do not conform to a definitive pattern of thought, combining a firm theistic faith with the objective of the spiritual advancement of man. Yet, the authors of the *Bani*, poet-philosophers as they were, were themselves non-conformists and unconventional in their outlook. This applies more particularly to Guru Nanak and Sant Kabir—whose poetry constitutes the core of the *Guru Granth's* thought-content.

Sikhism may quite justifiably be described as a protestant religion, with the Gurus as the torch-bearers of a renaissance in the Punjab. Granted that their metaphysical thesis, as it were, broadly affirmed an absolute, supernatural Being, both transcendent and immanent, yet one finds that within the boundaries of this idealistic framework, the Gurus and *Bhaktas* of the *Guru Granth* gave expression to their insights about the cosmos, the order of nature and the human world, in fairly naturalistic terms. A creative interpretation of the text, departing from the conventional exposition known as *tika-kari*, would reveal those features of the compositions that seem all the more significant in the context of the current search for philosophic understanding. Of course, the *qudrat* of Guru Nanak and other like-minded poets is not completely autonomous; it is subject to its author, the *Qadir*, who manifests his essence through the cosmic existence.

### The Variegated Nature

A profound and elegant presentation of nature as the physical phenomena, is given in Guru Nanak's *Var Asa*, equating all that is perceived, enjoyed and contemplated, with the pervasive and comprehensive *qudrat*. The hymn recounts the objects seen and sounds heard; human fears and pleasures; countless forms on the earth and in the skies; scriptures of various faiths and their deliberations. The poet testifies to the presence of nature in all these. The hymn further refers to the acts of eating, drinking and dressing; to all worldly affections; to the colourful phenomena of life and its species; to virtue and vice, to ego and pride; to air and water, fire and earth. This description, by itself and in itself, is a poetic

transcript of the philosophic conception of nature as the sole category of reality, postulated in modern naturalism. The point of departure is the attribution, in the hymn, of the powers of nature to the supernatural Master, whose ordinance prevails in the order of nature.

Guru Nanak, another hymn, has given an artistic account of the cosmic principle that governs the objects and forces of nature. Here again, the elements and the rivers, angels and seers, the sun and the moon—all are depicted as performing their assigned roles under the discipline of the supreme Ordainer. This combination of the naturalistic content with the mystical and transcendental reference, is one of the essential characteristics of the compositions of the *Guru Granth*. As if the poet, in dealing with the aspects of the established order of nature and human society, is automatically reminded of the Author of this order and proceeds to pay his homage to the creativity of the Divine.

In terms of purely idealistic philosophy, the order of nature is nothing more than a manifestation or externalization of the absolute Spirit. Its physical appearance is correlated to human understanding with all its limitations of here-and-now. In essence, the world is of the nature of *experience*, that is, in the supra-empirical sense of the term. Here, the natural is reduced to the supernatural. The metaphysical import of *Gurbani*, with its concepts of Divine Will, Creativity and Omnipresence, fits in well with the idealist position. As opposed to this, the reductionist operation performed by the materialist, who seeks to explain the mental and the spiritual in terms of matter-in-motion, goes contrary to the perspective of *Gurbani*. The Gurus seem to view nature as a creative force with its own regulations and procedures, but ultimately acting as the organ or agency of the divine Creator, whose writ is final. The world of nature is not illusory on this view, since the self-expression of the realmost Being cannot but be real itself. Even if the world were a sport or mere play, it is the *real* play of the Divine. "This world is the abode of Truth; the True one resides herein".

### Facts and Values

Comprehension of fact and pursuit of value are among the important functions of the human psyche. The Gurus, however, did not emphasize the mere



grasp or cognition of fact, since it was not their business, as spiritual leaders of men, to do so. But the pursuit of value naturally became the object of their most vigorous emphasis. The supreme mission of their life seemed to promote intuitive awareness of a value that transcended other values of human life, both high and low, narrow and wide. This comprehensive, all transcending value that the human soul could rely upon for ultimate support, was doubtlessly the Divine itself. Emotionally pursued, it became the object of the highest devotion and realization; rationally conceived, it served as the farthest limit of comprehension, namely Brahman or the Absolute. It could also be designated as the supreme, eternal, spiritual Reality, or *Sat-Chit-Anand* of the Indian conception.

Thus visualized, the Divine acquires the status of the highest value that man can experience in the inmost depths of his person. It may be viewed as a Being greater than man, with whom man could establish a personal, intimate contact, should he so will. Such a conception of the Deity does not conflict with the contemporary naturalistic thinking. God is accepted as the immanent reality of the universe, who is with all that forms part of nature. He may be viewed as the spiritual dimension of all reality, or the highest single factor within the totality of existence. In the philosophy of Whitehead, the 'consequent nature' of God evolves and develops with the developmental process of the actual world, although Whitehead posits a 'primordial nature' of God too, which like the Absolute of Shankar is the perfect, eternal, ineffable super-reality, identified with the realm of possibility. It is this latter description of a God above God, in the entire speculative venture, that is distasteful to the naturalist. He is reluctant to entertain a theory which conceives God as the designer and planner of the universe, or as its ultimate ground and support.

In *Gurbani* the supernatural, transcendent aspect of the supreme reality is characterized as the featureless void or *sunya*, as also the Formless or *Nirankar* in the ever-abiding state of *Sach-Khand*. In human terms, it is the highest state of spiritual merger of the finite in the infinite, —a unique, extraordinary experience of man's inmost self, not capable of being shared or verified by another. Thus interpreted, the supremely real is, after all, a matter of personal, individual experience. From the naturalist's standpoint, such a view of the 'supreme reality' or its 'realization' issues forth from

the metaphysical insight of man; it is a product of his theorizing —an adventure of the human mind, like all other concepts and doctrines, including those concerning the Genesis and cosmic evolution, creativity of God and immortality of the soul. And what originates in the mind and imagination of man, is a fact of nature like all facts. Man himself belongs to nature, so do all his concepts and values, as well as his Deity.

### The Mystery of Nature and Supernature

According to the Gurus, Truth can be apprehended by the mind, which is the seat of degeneration as well as regeneration of man. The central thesis of their composition stands out as the contemplative grasp of Truth that lifts the individual from a state of delusion to the state of enlightenment. Guru Nanak's *Japuji* itself Contemplation of Truth: its opening rhyme clinches the issue:

Truth: when nothing else was  
Truth: when process of time starts

Truth: what the present sustains

Truth, O Nanak, shall ever remain.

In another context, the Guru builds up a cosmological theory taking Truth as the origin and source of all creation. From Truth arises air, which in turn

gives rise to water; from water are formed the three regions of the universe. The implication that Guru Nanak acknowledged the operation of laws in nature seems unmistakable here. But the Divine Ordinance prevailing in nature is not completely within the human grasp. This is asserted time and again in *Gurbani*, as for instance:

No measure of the expanse of Thy ordinance is possible;

None can attempt a full account of that.

Even if a hundred poets assemble,

Little would they fathom, coming to grief in the end.

Its true value defies all estimate,

We simply rely on the hearsay.

The state of affairs, symbolically expressed in *Gurbani* as the 'indescribable description' (*akath katha*), or the knowability of the unknown, is aptly summed up by the author of the well-known *Chaupai*, who said:

The varying degrees of intellect we have,

Various descriptions we give of Thee, accordingly.

This theme of Truth —and its partial apprehension—is shared by contemporary naturalistic philosophy. The real, essential nature of Truth is hidden from man's view, like a veiled goddess. But the most enigmatic feature of this mystery is that the enigma

is soluble. All endeavour of human knowledge is directed to the gradual un-covering of the secrets of both the macrocosmic and the microcosmic aspects of nature. The discovery of the truths proceeds step by step, in a piecemeal fashion, unlike the instant revelation of all secrets claimed by the mystic. The naturalist does not deny the veracity of the holy experience or the divine illumination; nor does he deny the benefits accruing from faith. He himself has a kind of faith, viz. faith in the spirit of inquiry. He treats nature as the home of man, if not of an unknown immaterial spirit.

Traditionally, religion and naturalism have not been friendly to each other. But the modern version of naturalism is no longer an anathema to religion, particularly with its openness to spiritual experience and values that transcend the mundane level of existence. Human life is capable of acquiring ever new meaning, both higher and deeper, which would serve to refashion man's faculties and produce a regenerate individual. If the goal of religion is to transform ordinary beings into idealized souls, the aim of naturalism is no less than the shaping of transfigured men and women. The aesthetic realm of *vismad* or spiritual delight, depicted by Guru Nanak, is the ecstatic realm wherein the mental faculties of man—his vision, intelligence and reason, all are reconstituted into an elevated awareness belonging to sages and seers.

The poets of the *Guru Granth* sing of the mystery that is beyond nature, yet within the bounds of nature. The naturalist is enamoured of the mysterious glory of nature itself—calling to be unveiled at the hands of man. Nature is the common ground between them. It sets limits to the vision of the philosopher of nature, but allows the poetic vision of the seer to pierce through all limits. The naturalist, in measuring up the spiritualist, might discover those features of the order of nature and of the spirit of man—which have inspired mystics and visionaries like the composers of *Gurbani* to look beyond nature.

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## Government-Akali Accord Hailed

Dr. Inderjit Singh, president of International Punjabi Society and Guru Nanak Foundation, has welcomed the accord reached between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, according to a press release.



**There are countless Punjabis who smilingly kissed the gallows for the sake of liberation of their motherland. The number of martyrs to the cause of freedom of the country from Punjab is much more than any other part of India.**

The dust of the Anglo Sikh war had not yet settled when the Punjabis launched struggle for independence under the inspiring leadership of Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala. The valiant son of the Punjab had taken a vow to resist the British occupation of the Punjab and if necessary lay down his life for this sacred cause. The hoary headed Sardar stuck to his vow. On the day of battle viz. February 10, 1846 he dressed himself in white garment and mounted on his favourite white mare and galloped forth to address the assembled army. He reminded them their glorious traditions of bravery and sacrifice in the past and begged them as true sons of the soil to die for the freedom of their motherland. Thousands of Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus followed him and fell fighting in the battlefield.

A few decades after the British domination in the Punjab, Baba Ram Singh, leader of Namdhari movement, initiated a policy of non-cooperation with the foreign government. He advocated boycott of government schools, courts, government service and foreign cloth. On account of his anti-British attitude his movements were restricted. The action of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana in putting sixty three of his followers before the cannon without trial or even without waiting for the instructions from the higher authorities indicates his anxiety to suppress them. Sir Henry Cotton says about this carnage in his "*India and Home Memories*", "I can recall nothing during my service in India more shocking than these executions and there was many who thought as I did".

In the last decade of the 19th century, the Punjabis due to economic reasons migrated in large number to different countries like Malaya, China, Japan, U.S.A., Canada and England. Whenever they want they formed spearhead of freedom movement for their homeland. In January, 1909 the Indians celebrated the birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh. In Caxton Hall, London, a huge meeting was organised where Babu Bepin Chander Pal presided. Lala Lajpat Rai paid glowing tribute

## Punjab's Contribution In The Freedom Struggle

By : Dr. Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala

to the memory of the great Guru. On that occasion a pamphlet entitled "*Khalsa*" was distributed. It was stated there "For Punjab alone the great Guru and his sons and followers poured forth their blood in unmeasured quantities and now whole body of the motherland is dying. Punjab where every stone has a tale of some Sikh martyrdom to tell; Bengal where Nanak and Teg Bahadur preached, Deccan where the ashes of the Mighty dead are treasured in the Godavari are all groaning under serfdom; Patna, the very birth place of Khalsa (Guru Gobind Singh was born at Patna) is a weeping slave. But this cannot last. The Guru will not leave us. Even as he said, the sparrows shall kill the hawks. The trumpet-call of duty is sounded and it is never too late to mend".

In March 1913 about two hundred Indians who were mostly Punjabis from various parts of Canada and U.S.A. assembled at Washington and founded Hindi Association with Sohan Singh Bhakna as president, Kesar Singh as Vice-President, Hardyal as secretary and Pandit Kashi Ram as treasurer. The aim of this organisation was the liberation of India by force of arms. A press and a paper were started and named Yugantar Ashram and *Ghadar* respectively. The *Ghadar* was published in Punjabi, Urdu and Gujrati. A separate pamphlet in Punjabi entitled "*Ghadar di Gunj*" (Echo of Mutiny) was also published. It consisted of poems advising the Indians to struggle hard to free the homeland from the foreign yoke.

With the declaration of the World War on the 4th August, 1914 the Indian living in U.S.A. and Canada considered it most opportune time to liberate India from the clutches of British imperialists. The "Yugantar Ashram and its paper *Ghadar* declared that Indians should arrange to return to India for organising an armed rebellion to throw homes after selling their possessions. The Government of India became more vigilant and issued Ingress into India ordinance which provided for the control of persons entering the British-India. But some how or other the revolutionaries in U.S.A. and Canada reached India by different ships. They began their works in right

earnest. The Punjab was their main centre of activities. One of the major items of the programme of the newly returned emigrants was to persuade the Indian troops to join the armed rebellion. Mula Singh was appointed for this purpose. He won over the sowars of 23rd Cavalry, and especially Lachman Singh, Lance Dafedar Piara Singh went to Frontier Cantonments. Bhai Permanand was entrusted with the propaganda work, and Dr Mathura Singh was appointed for manufacturing bombs. Kartar Singh, Balwant Singh and Randhir Singh were to secure the cooperation of the 26th Punjabis at Ferozepur Cantonment. Besides this, telephone wires were to be cut and police stations were to be looted in order to secure arms. Soon after the whole plot was discovered. The Government took very stern action against the revolutionaries. The military men who were to join the rising were court martialled and shot. Nine batches of revolutionaries were tried by special tribunal under the Defence of India Act. Twenty were sentenced to death with confiscation of property, twenty six to transportation for life.

Since this movement for liberating India was launched during the war it was ruthlessly suppressed. But it had very far reaching effects. It set in motion the new forces to work. The Punjabi peasantry, to whom the revolutionaries mostly belonged, had so far been steadfast in their loyalty towards the British became suspicious of the intentions of the Government.

Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919 just after the First World War proved to be a great landmark in the history of freedom struggle in India. It has been described as "first step in the birth of new nation and it strengthened the forces of nationalism. According to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Jallianwala Bagh episode had been a turning point in Anglo-Indian relations. As a matter of fact the determination to fight the British hardened as a result of General Dwyer's action. Even Churchill, then Secretary of State for war said "what happened in Amritsar is foreign to British way of doing business". The Jallianwala Bagh massacre awakened the whole country. Rabindra Nath Tagore and

Gandhiji relinquished their titles as a mark of protest.

Jallianwala Bagh episode has proved to be a turning point in the history of the Punjab. After this episode when General Dwyer visited Golden Temple, which was quite close to the scene of tragedy, the government appointed manager offered him a role of honour. This enraged the people in general and the Sikhs in particular and it ultimately gave rise to a movement which is known by Gurdwara Reform Movement. Since this movement was against the government which wanted to continue the existing arrangement in the Gurdwaras, the Indian National Congress supported the reformist Sikhs popularly known as Akalis. Mahatma Gandhi advised them to adopt nonviolence in the struggle. A number of Akalis sacrificed their lives non-violently in the Nankana Tragedy. In Jaito Morcha, Pandit Jawahar Lal was arrested. The Guru Ka Bagh agitation proved "an abject lesson in non-violence displayed by martial race of India who had the Germans and won victories in Europe".

Sardar Bhagat Singh's shining example of self-sacrifice for the cause of country's freedom is unique and unsurpassed in the history of freedom struggle. Long before him his uncle Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai had shown supreme courage by leading an agitation in 1907 against the Colony Bill. By their sufferings and sacrifices they had brought lot of political awakening among the masses.

There are countless Punjabis who smilingly kissed the gallows for the sake of liberation of their motherland. The number of martyrs to the cause of freedom of the country from Punjab is much more than any other part of India.

During the World War II while Mahatma Gandhi was heroically fighting the battle of independence with non-violence the Indians especially the Punjabis living in South-East Asia, viz. Burma, Malaya states, Hong Kong etc. organised Indian National Army in 1942 to liberate India. Shri Rash Bihari and Captain Mohan Singh who later came to be known as General Mohan Singh were the organisers of this army. Giani Pritam Singh did pioneer work in establishing the branches of Independence League of India at various places in Malaya states. The partition of the Punjab in 1947 has brought innumerable deaths of men, women and children the greatest disaster ever known in the history. In this way the Punjabis paid very high price for the freedom of the country.



It is given to very few to become a legend while still alive. Such a one was Dr Diwan Singh "Kalapani". And the legend has endured 32 years after his death. I discovered it when I was stationed at Port Blair in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as Station Director of All India Radio during the late sixties.

In the course of my duty, I often interviewed people who had known and seen, at first hand, what it was like to live in those Islands during the British regime or under Japanese Occupation. One day I was talking to an ex-convict, Mohammed Saudagar. In the midst of telling me about the tortures that he had been subjected to, he suddenly burst into tears and said: "But that was nothing compared to what happened to Dr Diwan Singh." He spoke in most moving terms of Diwan Singh's courage and of his implicit belief in sticking to the truth, no matter what the consequences.

Diwan Singh was born in 1897 in a village called Little Galotian in Sialkot district, now in Pakistan. His father died when he was seven and his mother a few months later. He was brought up by his paternal uncle and grandmother. He was sent to the Scotch Mission Middle School in Daska. But he revolted against the type of schooling which consisted mainly of learning by rote and in which the birch reigned supreme. So one fine day he just decided to quit.

### Strong-Willed Child

No amount of threats or cajolery on the part of his uncle and other relations would make the young child change his mind. The uncle, therefore, reluctantly decided to let him come and work on the land, hoping that the arduous work would soon make him change his mind. But Diwan Singh did not spare himself; he was not one to shirk hard work.

However, after a period of nearly two years, he was persuaded to go back to school. He soon became fluent in both Urdu and Punjabi and conversant with English. He also actively participated in extra-curricular activities, one of them being dramatics.

The principal of the school and other senior members of the staff became so fond of Diwan Singh that they considered sending him for studies abroad. But his family and the village took over. They were afraid that he might embrace Christianity. He was removed from the school and admitted to the newly started Khalsa High School.

Soon after Diwan Singh passed the matriculation examination, World War I broke out. He joined the Army Medical School at Agra. He passed out as a qualified doctor in April 1919, and was appointed a

## Dr. Diwan Singh 'Kalapani'

**He was a doctor who went out among the poor, giving them much more than medicine. He was an innovative poet. And, though he was a Government servant under the Raj, he believed passionately in freedom and suffered for it.**

medical officer in the then Indian Medical Department, a wing of the Indian Army. He saw service in Rawalpindi, Waziristan and Lahore and in 1921 he was posted at Dagshai, a cantonment in the Simla hills.

India was at that time in the grip of the freedom struggle and Mahatma Gandhi had launched his non-violent movement. Political meetings were being held all over the country. One such meeting was called at Dagshai. Diwan Singh was so carried away by the sentiments expressed at the meeting that, quite forgetting that a Government servant was not supposed to take part in any political activity, he got up and made a fervent plea to his countrymen to join the fight for independence.

As was to be expected, Diwan Singh was promptly put under protective custody. His trial was held in Kasauli. Despite every effort on the part of the prosecution, not one independent witness could be got to testify against him. The prosecution case failed. Diwan Singh was acquitted and reinstated. He spent a second term of service in Waziristan, and then at Dera Ismail Khan. Eventually, in 1925, he was posted to Rangoon-Burma was then a part of the Indian Empire. By that time, he had a wife and six children.

### "No Fee" Pledge

One day, while in Rangoon, a jawan with venereal disease came to Dr Diwan Singh for treatment. He used to come every other day, pay his fee, receive the necessary treatment and then depart. One day, before adminis-

tering an injection, Diwan Singh took off his ring, which was valuable, and put it aside near the wash-basin. He washed his hands and gave the required injection. The soldier paid his fee, thanked him and departed. After he had left, Diwan Singh looked for his ring. It was missing. Obviously, the soldier had stolen it as no one else had been present there at the time.

Diwan Singh was advised by his wife and friends to report the matter to the army authorities. But, after a great deal of thought and cogitation, he decided against it. What is more, he took a pledge that in future he would not charge a fee from any of his patients but would live on his meagre salary. No amount of pleading on the part of his wife and friends would make him alter his decision.

In April 1927, Diwan Singh was posted to the Andaman Islands. Although he was living on Ross Island, where only the "rulers" resided, he toured the entire length and breadth of the Islands and acquainted himself with the needs, both medical and otherwise, of the Islanders. Soon he was to identify himself so completely with those living in the Andamans that he began to use "Kalapani" as his *nom de plume*.

Diwan Singh soon discovered that, in the Islands, there was discrimination even in the matter of a human being's right to worship. For instance, in Aberdeen, where the majority of the people in Port Blair lived, there was only one Gurdwara. It had been built by the police and was primarily meant for police-

men and officials. Others were far from welcome. Diwan Singh, therefore, set about devoting his energies towards the building of another Gurdwara. In the teeth of bureaucratic opposition, he persuaded the British Chief Commissioner to allot him land for the purpose. Today, it is dedicated to his memory and is known as Dr Diwan Singh's Gurdwara.

A singularly interesting feature of the new Gurdwara is that not only did people from all classes and communities help in its construction, but it soon became a meeting place for people of different religions, classes and communities.

By : N. Iqbal Singh

By the end of the thirties, Diwan Singh was at the peak of his career, both officially and as a humanist. He had also become known as a poet of merit in the Punjabi language. His poems and other writings were being published in various literary journals on the mainland. His first book of poems *Wagde Pani* (Flowing Waters) was already in print. But this idyllic state was not to last very long.

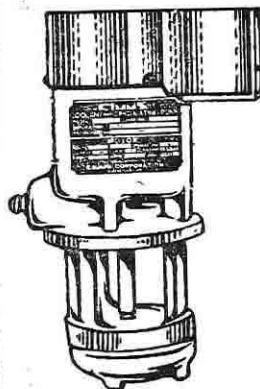
### Japanese Occupation

War broke out in Europe in September, 1939, and India, as a part of the British Empire, acquired the status of a belligerent. On the night of March 23, 1942, ships of the Royal Japanese Navy swooped on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and occupied them. On the third day of their occupation, the Japanese called a general meeting of the public, where Colonel Bucho, the civil Governor, spoke first. He then asked some of the others to address the gathering. Dr Diwan Singh was one of them.

Lest Diwan Singh be accused of collaborating with the Japanese, I would like to quote an excerpt from his speech. Said he: "The Japanese, like us, are Asians. They assure us that they will help us attain freedom from the British. In the light of what they say, they deserve our cooperation. But I want to warn you that freedom is not something which anyone can give you on a platter. To achieve freedom we have to fight. Therefore, my dear brothers and sisters, you must be ready to sacrifice your all for the freedom of your country."

Within a short while, Diwan Singh was holding a number of important posts. Apart from being the Chief Medical Officer and in charge of ambulance and Red Cross work, his assignments included public welfare, publicity and a grow-more-food campaign. He also established a branch of the Indian Independence League. All went well for a while. But

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the position soon began to deteriorate. The Japanese were irked by the fact that military information was being regularly leaked out to the Allies, inviting bombing of military installations. They suspected the existence of a spy ring. So they started indiscriminate arrests. They even resorted to inflicting tortures on the suspects. Diwan Singh pleaded with the authorities and tried to convince them that those they suspected were innocent. But to no effect.

The situation worsened when the Japanese decided to pick on Indian women to become what came to be known as their "comfort women". Diwan Singh protested vigorously against the move. On October 23, 1943, along with some others, he was arrested and confined in the Cellular Gaol and tortured.

He was suspended from the ceiling of his cell by his hair and mercilessly beaten. By the time they had finished with him, most of his bones and joints and his ribs were broken. Then his hands and feet were tied and various parts of his body burnt. Pins and needles were thrust in under his finger and toe-nails. Electric shocks were administered to his body. His eyeballs were gouged out. And, finally, he was subjected to the ultimate indignity that can be inflicted on a Sikh. His hair and his beard were forcibly shorn. He passed away on the night of January 14, 1944.

### Netaji Didn't See Him

The extreme irony, however, was that while Diwan Singh was undergoing such unspeakable suffering at the hands of the Japanese, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who was at that time the head of the Provisional Indian Government, paid a visit to the Andaman Islands, the only part of Indian soil not under the rule of the British. He even paid a visit to the Cellular Gaol. Although he had been apprised of what was happening to Diwan Singh and his other comrades, Netaji did not see Diwan Singh. Maybe he was not allowed to do so by the Japanese, but it gives some indication of the freedom he enjoyed under them.

Diwan Singh is no more. But, as long as there are people living who hold him in such esteem and affection as the people of the Andaman Islands do, his memory will never die. Besides, he will continue to live in Punjabi literature. For he was one of those responsible for starting a new trend in Punjabi poetry. He wrote in what came to be known in the West as *vers libre*—free verse. Barring Professor Puran Singh, no one else had tried to write poems in Punjabi in that genre.

This is not the place to enter into any argument or plead the cause of one or the other party in dispute, but is a time of—

# THANKSGIVING

By : Prof. Gopal Singh Puri, Liverpool (U.K.)

*Birthis Kade nah hovea jan ki ardas.* The prayer of the slave never goes vain is the teaching of our Sat Gurus to which the poet affirms—*Baat jo dil se nikalti hai asar rakhti hai.* The wish that comes out of the depth of the heart has its effect. That is precisely what seems to have happened.

In all earnestness, humble pleading, hope in the mind and everlasting trust in the over soul we urged all wise and well meaning persons in an article entitled 'The Path to Peace with Justice and Freedom'. (see *The Spokesman*, New Delhi, 22nd July, 1985, Vol. 32, No. 42) "to rise above petty trivialities and follow the Path of Divine Forgiveness taught us by our Lord and start afresh in His Will; And thereby create a city of no-Sorrows—Begram Pura, an Utopia of Ravidas—in which there is no grieving—and no man suffers there"—"My friends", Ravidas says, "I have found myself a wonderful home town where everything is good and everyone is happy. There all are equal, none the second or third—The citizens are healthy and they move as freely through the city as they please—".

Since 1982, the land of the Gurus, Saints, Soldiers, Bhagats and honest, simple folks has been passing through a reign of terror, threat, murder, insecurity and utter misery. One upon the other events in quick succession shattered the pride of the Sikhs, reducing them to a position of worse than the low caste beggar.

This is not the place to enter into any argument or plead the cause of one or the other party in dispute, but is a time of Thanksgiving for what has happened to ease the tension and bring back peace, tranquillity and equipoise between the Rulers and the Ruled and people of all shades of opinion.

We were most delighted to hear on the telephone the long awaited and most auspicious news from our Assistant High Commissioner.

With the Grace of the All Pervading, Bountiful Father of us all our kind and benevolent lord Sikhs and Indians all over the world express their joy with sense of great relief and gratitude that an Agreement has been signed between the Prime Minister of India Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the President of the

Shiromani Akali Dal Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on the 24th July, 1985, whereby a pledge is made that the period of confrontation has ended, to promote unity and integrity of the country. The fulfilment of the long cherished desire of the Punjabis to have Chandigarh given to them as the Capital of the State is the crowning glory of the Akali Dal, who have made great sacrifices in this struggle.

In their sense of patriotism and having a long recorded history of being the foremost in the struggle for freedom and in the defence of the country the Akali Dal has clarified their position beyond any misrepresentation that the 1973 Anandpur Sahib Resolution is entirely within the framework of the Indian Constitution. The purpose of the Resolution is and was to promote greater autonomy to the Punjab State with a view to strengthening the unity and integrity of the country. The provision of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution concerning Centre and State Relations stands automatically referred to the Sarkaria Commission.

It is gratifying that the Government had agreed to consider in consultation with the Shiromani Akali Dal and others concerned to enact an All India Gurdwara Act after fulfilling constitutional requirements. We are sure this would help Sikhs to plan for a better management of the holy places in the betterment not only of the preaching and practising of the Faith of the Gurus but also for promoting the nation building activities.

Much of the Punjab specialises as agricultural, horticultural and animal husbandry areas. As the fore-runners of the Green Revolution and the White Revolution the Punjab is truly a breadbasket of India. It is gratifying to note that the agreement has made a special mention of the River Waters Distribution from the Ravi-Beas system to the three states of the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan to the satisfaction of all concerned. The quantitative of usage claim water is agreed to be referred to a Tribunal headed by a supreme court judge. This would, it is hoped, help the construction of the long developed Syl Canal by the 15th August, 1985.

All may not look fully settled at present but this agreement has brought in an atmosphere of good will, reconciliation and a judicial safeguard that the transfer of Territories between the States of the Punjab and Haryana on language consideration would be done by a commission headed by a supreme court judge. State boundaries would be looked after by the State Boundaries Commission in agreement.

One of the outstanding features of the agreement is that the notification declaring Chandigarh and Punjab as Disturbed Areas under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act stands revoked, with this goes the abolition of special courts and the Existing Special Courts will try only those cases that related to the waging of war against the State, and cases of hijacking. Every other offence goes to the ordinary court, that is a fair proposition. This would no doubt create a psychological satisfaction to the Sikhs, that they are not considered extremists, traitors, anti state or secessionists, but honest, patriotic people.

It would be possible under the agreement and in an atmosphere of calm, trust and friendship, we believe, to settle the cases of persecution, loss to life, damage to property, also of the innocent people affected by the disturbances all over the country since the 1st August, 1982, onwards. With this the agreement envisages for recruitment to army, promotion on merit, without any restriction to selection for the Sikhs. The Jurisdiction of the Justice Ranganathan Commission to enquire into the riots in November 1984 has been extended to cover Bokaro and Kanpur areas. Further, all people discharged from the Army after June will be rehabilitated and efforts will be made to provide gainful employment for them.

The Government guidelines on the protection and encouragement of minorities and their representation in all walks of national life were re-affirmed and will be circulated to all Chief Ministers of States. It is heartening to note in the Agreement that the Government will make all efforts at the encouragement and promotion of Punjabi language and culture.

We honestly believe that things would normalise in the Punjab and elections to the State Assembly would soon be held. We pray to God Almighty for the success of right-thinking Punjabis to the Assembly who would work above self interest and personality cult and bring back all that the State has lost in the turmoil.



## Viewpoints

### Misinformation in certain quarters about government's decision of Jan '70

While the agreement between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Akali Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, has been very widely welcomed, there have been some comments which suggest that there is misinformation in certain quarters about the Government of India's decision of January, 1970. As I happened to be the Union Home Secretary at that time, I thought I should write to you quoting the relevant parts of the Central Government's communique.

"The Central Government has, therefore, come to the conclusion that it will not be in the interest of the people of Chandigarh or of either of the two States to divide the city. Accordingly, after very carefully weighing the claims of the two States, they have decided that the Capital Project area of Chandigarh should as a whole go to Punjab.

"At the time of the formation of the Union Territory of Chandigarh along with the Capital Project area, certain adjoining areas which were previously part of the Hindi or the Punjabi region were included in the Union Territory. Now that the entire Project area is to be transferred to Punjab, Government has decided that the areas which were added to the Union Territory from the Punjabi region of the erstwhile State of Punjab should be transferred to Punjabi region and those from Hindi region to Haryana.

"A part of the Sukhna Lake also fell in the Hindi region but, on practical considerations, division of the Lake is not advisable. Hence, the entire Lake along with its embankments will be kept as part of Chandigarh.

"The Government has also decided that a part of the Fazilka tehsil of Ferozepur district in Punjab comprising the old zail of Fazilka and

Fazilka town, the area within the jurisdiction of police station Khujan Sarwar and the area within the jurisdiction of old Abohar police station excluding the zails of Chandankhera and Kundal should be transferred to Haryana. (After careful verification a list of villages and towns falling in this area will be published)...

"The Government of India hopes that the State Government (of Haryana) will soon select a suitable site for its capital and start construction. However, construction of a new capital will necessarily take some years. The Government of Haryana will, therefore, continue to have the use of office and residential accommodation now allotted to them by the Central Government in Chandigarh for a period not exceeding five years. During this period, Chandigarh will remain a Union Territory.

"As regards other claims and counter-claims for readjustment of the existing inter-State boundaries, the Government proposes to appoint a Commission with suitable terms of reference, which will be settled in consultation with the Governments of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

"Transfer of the area in Fazilka tehsil and transfers decided upon the recommendations of the Commission will be effected simultaneously..."

It will be noticed that the actual transfer of areas in Fazilka tehsil was not required to be simultaneous with the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab; it was to be effected simultaneously with other border adjustments to be decided upon on the recommendation of a Commission. In the event no such Commission was appointed all these years.

—L.P. Singh,

Former Union Home Secretary

### A bipartisan government will be the best bet for peace in Punjab

The signing of an agreement does not necessarily mean instant peace in Punjab. There may still be trouble ahead. The forces of darkness will not give up easily. Again, there can be differences in interpretation of the terms of agreement, hitches in implementation. But what is important is that for the first time since the beginning of the Punjab crisis, the moderate leadership of the Sikhs has committed itself to a specific solution of the entire problem—

a peaceful constitutional way out. That by itself is a great thing. And given goodwill on both sides, the differences if any can be sorted out. The Akali leaders should also co-operate in removing the grievances of Rajasthan and Haryana on certain issues. They can now afford to be generous. Whether the Prime Minister himself should have signed a memorandum of understanding with a party leader on internal issues is a moot point. It is

certainly unprecedented. But I suppose the gravity of the matter and overall national interest dictated the breach of convention. It is hoped the spirit will inform the ruling party's

### Punjab back on the road to prosperity

I summed up my reactions on Government-Akali accord in one brash gesture. I walked across the floor of the Rajya Sabha and congratulated the Prime Minister. "For this you deserve the Bharat Ratna", I said taking his hand in mine. His firm grip gave further confirmation that he can grasp any nettle as well as pluck the flower safely. Another person I would like to see similarly honoured is Governor Arjun Singh. It was he more than anyone else who brought the Akalis round and prepared the ground for an amicable settlement. And a 'Siropa' for Sant Harchand Singh Longowal. He had a prickly lot in his own camp to deal with. His difficulties are far from over. He has still to contend with the 'trishul', poised at him by the Baba Joginder-Talwandi—

approach to the elections too. A bipartisan government, at least for a few years, will be the best bet for peace in Punjab.

—Ravindra Nath  
in *THE WEEK*

Students Federation combine. More than those three groups he has stickier customers in his erstwhile supporters, Prakash Singh Badal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra—both nursing grievances of having been left out in the cold and both aspiring to be Chief Ministers of the State. And except for a handful of nit-picking politicians of the Opposition who never let go any opportunity to score a point against the Government, so has the entire nation. This time they will not be scoring against the Government but against the country's integrity. We have been saved from the brink of an abyss. Let us give thanks to the Lord that we can breathe again and Punjab will be back on the road to prosperity.

—Khushwant Singh  
in *HINDUSTAN TIMES*

### Actual culprits always go unpunished

The terms of reference-inquiry into allegations of organised violence following Mrs Gandhi's assassination and the recording of measures for preventing recurrence of the violence are too vague. Owing to this, the actual culprits who masterminded communal riots etc always go unpunished. It is also important that those alleged to have been involved in the rioting should resign from their government offices. At least one of them is now a minister. His resignation will necessarily mean acceptance of guilt. But it is necessary for an objective inquiry. Even if he does not try to influence anyone or cover up evidence, his copying the chair in the council of ministers is bound to influence policemen or others involved in the inquiry. In fact,

if he continues to be a minister, people would tend to believe that he must have exerted pressure to get himself exonerated. Under the Prime Minister's instructions no MP, especially those who are being associated with the Delhi riots, is to call on Justice Mishra. But how this will help? In a society where people live in awe of authority and ministers and officials get away with anything, such instructions will be of on avail. The people likely to be intimidated by those in authority are not the judges but those who give evidence. The minister and others allegedly connected with the riots should step down until the inquiry report is out. That means only till the end of this year.

—Kuldip Nayar in *SUNDAY*

### Grant them a pardon

The end of Second World War witnessed the historic trial of INA and naval mutineers. The offenders were found guilty and given the maximum punishment. But the then Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Armed Forces, Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, squashed the sentences on the ground that they behaved as they did under extreme circumstances. Happily, some of them today can draw freedom fighter pensions. It made sad reading that 11 men of a Punjab battalion with a past record

of good service till that black day of June 10 last year, were found guilty of desertion and mutiny. These jawans gave vent to their indignation under extreme distress and confusion arising from the circumstances. This was over-looked by the military court.

The President of India, being the supreme commander of the forces, can grant them a pardon if they express their regret over their acts. The jawan is also a gentleman.

—Capt. Burjor J. Patel in a letter to *CURRENT WEEKLY*



## Letters to the Editor

### An excellent precedent

Sir,—Not content with drawing up a list of seven objections to the statesmanlike accord on Punjab, the BJP's executive has endorsed Mr L.K. Advani's spurious objection and issued a fatwa (edict) censuring the PM for signing the accord: "A very wrong precedent has been set by having the country's Prime Minister enter into a formal agreement with the president of a political party".

There is an excellent precedent for the course adopted by the Prime Minister—the Kashmir accord of 1975 between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah who was not even the president of a political party then. Contrary to common impression, the accord was not concluded between Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg, then President of the Plebiscite Front, and Mr G. Parthasarathi, the PM's representative. The six-point document entitled "Agreed Conclusions" which they signed on November 13, 1974 explicitly said at the end "No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore remitted to the Principals". It is they who later concluded an accord.

Indeed, on the same day, Messrs Beg and Parthasarathi signed yet another document defining two substantial issues on which they differed with the prefatory note: "the following specific questions were left over for further consideration". Beg Sahib addressed to Mr Parthasarathi a letter, defining three more issues of disagreement—a fact which the latter confirmed by his letter, also on the same day, November 13, 1974. The deadlock was complete.

Thereafter Sheikh Saheb wrote to the Prime Minister, on November 25, 1974, proposing a meeting to resolve the "matters on which the two emissaries have disagreed". Mrs Gandhi doubted (December 16) if a meeting would help but agreed to meet later all the same. Hurt, Sheikh Saheb shot off a long letter (December 29, 1974) in which he said that if his main points were not accepted, "I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging our discussions".

It was against this background that Mrs Gandhi and Sheikh Saheb met and finalised the accord. It was concluded in an exchange of letters dated February 11, 1975, by Sheikh Saheb, and Mrs Gandhi's reply the very next day. The "agreed conclusions" were, as lawyers

put it, incorporated by reference in both letters. It is Sheikh Saheb's letter and the PM's reply which constitute the accord, popularly known as the Indira Gandhi-Sheikh Abdullah accord.

Exchange of letters is as well recognised a form of recording accords, domestic or international, as a memorandum of settlement or an agreement. Even the Vienna Convention on the law of treaties includes letters within

### Abuse of privileges

Sir,—I think the lovers of Civil Liberties and Rule of Law must have felt shocked to read the statement of Shri K.K. Tewari, M.P. (Congress-I) which he had made in the Parliament against the PUCL/PUDR accusing them as CIA agents and colluding with terrorists. These are grave charges against democratic organizations which can not function peacefully under any kind of fear or pressure from politicians. I may not be wrong if I say that it has become a fashion with the politicians of the ruling party to malign the people, who do not toe their line, as either anti-national or agents of some foreign powers. They are in a privileged position and they can condemn or criticize anybody on the floor of the parliament.

Besides the PUCL or PUDR there are other organisations also which are headed by Ex-chief Justice Mr. S.M. Sikri and Justice Mr. Tarkunde. They had also come to almost the same conclusions about the involvement of Congress(I) politicians in the November riots at Delhi

the definition of "treaty".

One recalls that when the Kashmir accord was made public on February 24, 1975, the President of the Jana Sangh, declared that it "makes a reversal of the process of the State's integration with the rest of the country." The decade since has proved how wrong they were. The accord cemented the integration.

The Punjab accord is concluded in the same spirit and form as the Kashmir accord—acts of statesmanship, albeit belated, which reconciled the alienated with the Union.

—A.G. Noorani

Bombay

and other places of the country. Can dignitaries like these two ex-Justices, Shri Tayab Ji and Shri Govind Narain, I.C.S. (Retd.), who have been famous for their credibility, even be branded as agents of some foreign powers, only because they had also made efforts and found out the truth? It may be appreciated that for the survival of the democracy freedom of expression should not be curbed, as freedom of expression and freedom of Press are the most cherished values, values which are a common heritage of mankind in a democratic world.

In its editorial the "Indian Express" (5th August) has rightly observed "There may be differences of opinion on their findings but these should be subject to discussion and debate—not abuse. But wild charges or innuendoes against all manner of institutions and individuals behind the privileged sanctuary of Parliament is hardly a tendency to be encouraged".

—G.S. Chadha, Advocate  
New Delhi.

### Bombay Singh Sabha Endorses Accord

At the religious Diwan held in Bombay last week, Sri Guru Singh Sabha Bombay unanimously passed a resolution and welcomed the signing of accord on Punjab between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and fully endorsed the same. This will pave way for amity in Punjab and strengthen the forces of unity and integration.

The Diwan also appreciated the statesmanship and far-sightedness of both Mr. Gandhi and Sant Longowal and hoped that the Government and Shiromani Akali Dal will fully cooperate to implement the agreement. This will usher an era of peace and fellow-feelings in the country and national integration will be strengthened.

### Adequate Relief to Flood Victims Stressed

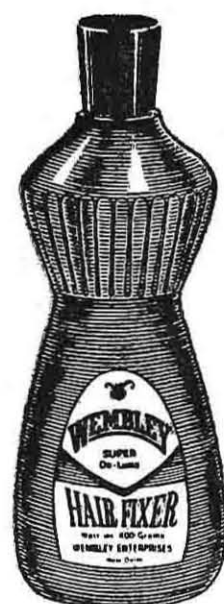
In a memorandum submitted to the Central Government committee members who are assessing the flood damage in Punjab, and other authorities, Sardar Atma Singh, former Punjab Minister has pointed out that the people have suffered big losses due to heavy floods and liberal relief should be granted to them as the relief already announced by the government falls short of the sufferings of the victims.

He has requested review of the relief policy and made suggestion of relief at the rate of Rs 100/- per cattle to the suffering farmers for two months and for an acre of destroyed crops relief should be from Rs 1000/- to Rs 2000/-. If the Government wants the farmers to recover from their heavy losses and stand on their own feet, they should be provided adequate and immediate relief, adds memorandum.

### Charanjit Singh Receives Award in Rafi's Memory

The recently instituted First Rafi Memorial Award, carrying a cash prize of Rs 500/- was received by S. Charanjit Singh, a well known poet, and certain other artists at a function organised by YADGAR-E-RAFI Society under the chairmanship of Sardar Amarjit Singh Kohli, to celebrate Rafi's fifth death anniversary. Sardar Kohli regretted that Doordarshan Kendra was yet to telecast a feature based on the life and melodies of Rafi.

The chief guest of the evening Mr. Gulshan Kumar, proprietor of T series cassettes said that he would shortly release recording of the function and gave Rs 21,000/- to the society for building a permanent memorial of Rafi in Delhi.



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## Guru Nanak Religious and Endowment Trust

Guru Nanak Religious and Endowment Trust, Bangalore, is doing humane service to all irrespective of caste, colour or creed for the last 1-1/2 years. It was started at the inspiration of Giani Avtar Singh of Man-Jog Group of Companies, Bangalore. Giani is the founder Chairman of the Trust.

120 girls have already been imparted free tailoring training. At present 150 girls are being given free training in tailoring and embroidery.

The Trust has acquired the services of qualified and experienced teachers for Nursery/Kindergarten classes. There are 100 children on its roll in these classes.

The Trust is running one free allopathic dispensary. Monthly about 600-650 patients are benefited by this dispensary. In addition 10 Homeopathic Centres in and around Bangalore are managed by the Trust. Out of these 4 Centres function regularly while 6 others are operated twice a week. Approximately 3,000 patients are given free treatment monthly in all these Centres.

The Trust is equipped with a good library and a study circle for Guru Granth Sahib. Guru Granth Sahib in English is available. In addition, books on Sikhs Dharma and other religions are also available for spiritual reading.

*Satsang* and *Hari Kirtan* is carried on every Saturday from 6 A.M. to 8-30 A.M. while every Thursday discourses on *Gurbani* are held from 6 P.M. to 7-30 P.M.

These programmes are carried on with great zeal and devotion.

Efforts are being made to translate *Gurbani* into Kannada for the benefit of the local people. A beginning has been made in this direction by getting *Guru Teg Bahadurji's* slokas translated into Kannada. This book in Kannada has been distributed to all free of cost.

The Trust also participates in various religious and social functions organised by different religious centres/societies. It had the opportunity to preach *Guru Nanak* philosophy and *Hindu-Sikh* unity by participating in large scale function organised in honour of *Sri Jagadguru Sanakacharya Swami of Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam*. This had the greatest impact as it was published in all leading papers of Karnataka.

Recently a welcome function was organised by the Trust on *Mr. I. K. Gujral's* visit to Bangalore. *Mr. Gujral's* speech on *Hindu-Sikh* unity was

applauded by everyone.

Likewise, endeavours for *Hindu-Sikh* unity, preaching *Guru Nanak* ideals, love and affection for all, are being made by the trust in a sincere manner.

Further developmental programme under consideration include construction of a Hospital, a Homeopathic Clinic of a high standard and establishment of a public school. We request for your co-operation and blessing for fulfilment of our objective.

## US Sikh Cultural Society Oppose Accord

The assembly of Sikhs in the Richmond Hill Gurdwara, New York opposed the accord on Punjab, signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal as the latter, in their opinion, did not represent the Sikhs. They opine that the accord is meaningless in the absence of firm decision on *Ravi-Beas* water, complete acceptance of *Anandpur Sahib* resolution. The agreement shows that the sacrifice made by thousands of Sikhs, the damage done to the holiest shrine, massacre of Sikhs in Delhi and other cities of India for genuine Sikh demands, have been in vain.

The Sikh Cultural Society further demanded resignation of Sant Longowal and extended support to *Baba Joginder Singh* to carry on the struggle for obtaining full justice for the Sikhs.

## Book Review

### Indian Immigrants In America

THE ASIAN INDIAN EXPERIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES; by Dr Parmatma Saran, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., pages 131, Price Rs 75.

America is a nation formed of diverse groups of people. In fact, American history is a history of immigration. Records show that more than 42 million people immigrated into this country between 1920 and 1965. Between 1820 and 1960 more than one million Asians went to the United States. The majority of them came from China and Japan.

Immigrants came to America for variety of reasons, not all of which were economic. Many left their homes because of religious persecution or political difficulties or for personal reasons. However, the majority of immigrants came for land on the frontiers, for jobs on the nations' emerging industrial sector or for other economic reasons.

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act radically altered the direction of legislation from that of the previous 40 years. The Act introduced four basic policy changes: abolition of national origins quota systems, a new preference system, a labour certification programme, and a limit on western hemisphere immigration. The proportion of Asian immigrants rose dramatically during this time and India's share of Asian immigration had risen from one percent in 1964 to 6 percent in 1968.

Dr Saran offers a portrait of a community which is going through a transition. He compares the life of Indians in America with the new categories of American and elder immigrant groups. The author observes that although there is enough evidence in the behaviour patterns of the Indian immigrants to suggest their Americanisation, yet there is a strong evidence indicating the maintenance of their Indian culture and traditions. His observations are based on a number of in-depth interviews conducted by him. Ten of these have been presented in the book and are worth reading.

In fact, Indian immigrants generally maintain their respect for and faith in the Indian value system and institutions, even though they are critical of India in many ways. For example, they talk about poverty, the population explosion, casteism and the lack of opportunity for professional advancement in India. However, there seldom is criticism of the basic value system, which evolves around major social institutions such as marriage and the family and religion. Their attitudes towards India becomes even more favourable and they tend to organise activities to reinforce their Indianness both within the family and outside through Indian organisations.

The Indian immigrants came from better than average educational and professional backgrounds. Hence, it is easier for them to find employment and improve their economic status in the United States. While the per capita income of Indian immigrants is much higher than that of the average American, their consumption pattern is lower than that of Americans on the same income level.

Indians in the United States are gradually showing an increasing willingness for active participation in the mainstream of American society in the social, political and economic spheres. As a result, the structural assimilation of the Indian immigrants has been more successful than that of other ethnic groups.

"We are Indian Americans—not American Indians" is how the author sums up the sentiments of Asian Indians in America.

—Suminder Kaur







Fifty Penguin Years

## Penguin Books Turn Fifty

July 30, 1985 marks the 50th anniversary of Penguin Books. The anniversary will be celebrated throughout the Penguin group—in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, and through distributors and agents worldwide—taking many different forms in different places. Because of the U.K. holiday season starting at the end of July, British celebrations will begin in September, with an anniversary programme running throughout the autumn.

The impressive 1985 calendar of anniversary events includes four major launches on September 5: a single facsimile edition of Penguin No. 1, *Ariel* by Andre Maurois, complete with dust jacket; a boxed set of the first ten Penguins in facsimile; The Penguin New Writing, a collection of the best short stories from this series first published between 1940 and 1950; and a selection of new titles, illustrating the range and diversity of the Penguin list as it is today.

September 5 will also see the unveiling of a commemorative plaque to Sir Allen Lane at 8 Vigo Street, London, scene of the birth of Penguin, and the start of a month-long exhibition of work by Penguin cover artists.

### The Indian Connection

It is not uncommon to meet people in India who proudly announce that they were educated and brought up on Penguins. Little wonder when one considers that only months after Allen Lane set up Penguin Books as an independent company in 1936 and fulfilled his ambition of producing "intelligent books for intelligent people" at a price they could afford, the house of Rupa had brought Penguins to India.

Even now it may be possible to find a few original sixpenny Penguins in some Indian bookshops and remember the "good old days" when one could buy three Penguins for a rupee. Early editions of the first Pelicans were edited by V.K. Krishna Menon.

Since the very early days, Penguin has published a steady stream of Indian authors. K.S. Shelvankar's *The Problem of India*, published in May 1940, was one of the early Penguin Specials, followed by the celebrated novels of Mulk Raj Anand, *The Untouchable* in February 1941 and *Coolie* in April 1945.

Many internationally renowned men and women of letters, including R.K. Narayan, Anita Desai, Ved Mehta and G.V.

Desani, have been published by Penguin, and Adil Jussawala's *New Writing in India* was the only book in the famous Penguin New Writing series list to have had a second printing.

In 1966, Romila Thapar's *A History of India* was first published, and it very quickly established itself as a standard work for general readers and students alike.

### Mahatma's Autobiography

Penguin is particularly proud to have had the distinction of publishing Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, making this remarkable book available to readers throughout the world. In the 1960s it published V.S. Naipaul's celebrated *An Area of Darkness*.

Most recently, M.J. Akbar's *India: The Siege Within* sold more copies on publication in India than any other Penguin book before it, and in this its anniversary year Penguin has brought out two of the works of Rabindranath Tagore in the Penguin Modern Classics series—his novel, *The Home and the World*, and William Radice's new and critically acclaimed translation of *Selected Poems. Darkness*, a collection of short stories of Bharati Mukherjee, is yet another work which will introduce the author to her countrymen for the first time.

Authors of foreign origin, too, writing both fiction and non-fiction of Indian interest, have played a significant part in the Penguin list over the years. The 48th Penguin, published in

June 1936, was E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*. In the lime-light now, thanks to David Lean's film, this title has been perennially popular, and was one of the six books chosen for the new series of Permanent Penguins introduced in 1983.

*An Indian Day* by Edward Thomson, a work of fiction, was published in January 1933, followed by *Hindoo Holiday* by J.R. Ackerley in March 1940. This minor classic has since been reissued in the Penguin Travel Library, which also includes yet another distinguished work of E.M. Forster's *Hill of Devi*.

When Penguin published its first mass-market title as part of a new and aggressive publishing policy, the first title chosen was a story about India. M.M. Kaye's *The Far Pavilions*, published in 1979, was a runaway success. Internationally it sold over 300,000 copies in six months, followed by another 300,000.

### Indian Collaborators

Penguin collaborators in India are distinguished publishers and distributors. The house of Rupa, established by D. Mehra in 1936, has from the very beginning had a close relationship with Penguin Books. Orient Longman, who in earlier days were a branch of Longman Green & Company, have also had a long association with the distribution of Penguins. And the year 1981 brought the large book distributors, India Book House, headed by G.L. Mirchandani, together with Penguin.

For over 15 years, Penguin has been the only British paperback publisher to maintain its own office in India, and in its 50th anniversary year Penguin books continue to be the best-selling English paperbacks in this country.

## Sleeping Blissfully The Natural Way

According to statistics, one in three adults has trouble in bed at night—getting to sleep. Sometimes it's real problem, sometimes it's imagined. But whatever the reason, it causes a lot of headaches.

Prescribing sleeping pills is not the solution, for doctors can only take a patient's word for the amount of sleep he is losing. The fact is many people do not know exactly how much they have slept. Many think they haven't slept a wink, when in fact they have slept only forty minutes less than normal.

Which brings up to the crux of the matter—how much sleep is normal? Some people need nine hours, others get by on as little as three. Most adults average just under eight hours, children more and old people less. But people attach needless importance to getting a certain number of hours.

Sometimes the problem of getting to sleep is purely physical. A lumpy mattress, indigestion, draughts, a hard pillow or even a snoring spouse could make bedtime a misery.

But when the problem is in the mind, the people, who complain most of insomnia, are those who are introverts and worry too much. They tend to sleep less than those who have outgoing, sociable personalities. They lie awake worrying about the day's mistakes and tomorrow's problems. And the harder they try, the more difficult it becomes to sleep.

### Age-old Remedies

Better than pills are the age-old remedies, which are more sensible than medication. No one has ever been able to say enough about the distinct advantage that plenty of fresh air and exercise has on the body, in helping to sleep peacefully and wake up refreshed. Eating lightly in the evening also goes a long way towards a good night's rest.

Taking a hot bath just before retiring takes the kinks out of knotted muscles, tired feet or strained backs. For those who eat early and go to bed fairly late, a glass of warm milk or chocolate can be very comforting, almost as good as the teddy bear of one's childhood.

So much for physical comfort, but relaxing the mind is equally important. Banish mental problems by escaping from reality with pleasant if not, slightly dull fiction or poetry. Reading hair-raising horror stories are strictly not for the very nervous. Prayer, yoga and self-hypnosis are other popular forms of curing insomnia. Of course, if none of this works, one could always go back to counting sheep.

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## Wild Charges Against Two Civil Rights Bodies

### Topsy-Turvy View Of Their Role

Professor K.K. Tewari, a man of scholarship and erudition, has not covered himself with glory by indulging in mud-slinging against the People's Union for Civil Liberties and the People's Union for Democratic Rights from behind the privileged sanctuary of parliament.

He has linked the murder of Mr Lalit Maken, a member of Parliament, with the report of these two human rights organisations about anti-Sikh riots in Delhi last November. Since the report mentioned, among others, Mr Maken as one of the men behind the wholesale carnage and pillage, he was now gunned down, says Mr Tewari, by a Sikh terrorist in a spirit of revenge.

If so, then the Delhi police can stop its investigation as Mr Tewari knows all. He can help identify the culprit and get him arrested. Or does he desire to push the police onto the wrong track in order to save the real perpetrators of the crime?

Mr Tewari also said that he

had definite proof that PUCL and PUDR were funded by Central Intelligence Agency of USA. He would do well to furnish the proof so that the bodies can be hauled up under our laws which ban acceptance of such aid from abroad without the government's prior permission. Or is it yet another crude manifestation of that ubiquitous foreign hand that is all too

readily available for every occasion?

The professor has also accused PUCL and PUDR of "encouraging violence and indulging in subversive activities". In fact, the boot has to be on their leg, as it was Congress(I) leaders at local level and their hired hoodlums who were guilty of mass killing of Sikhs and looting of their shops and houses throughout India.

Civil liberties bodies will never be popular with certain people who are not either concerned with human rights or find their searching inquiries inconvenient. But they are an

important segment of any democratic society and fulfil a most valuable watchdog role. There may be difference of opinion about their findings but these should be subject of reasoned debate and discussion—not abuse.

The ruling party has developed a culture which arrogates to itself the entire monopoly of patriotism and which makes it synonymous with the nation. As such, anyone saying anything against the rulers is branded anti-national. Those, who speak up for rights of a citizen, are held guilty of a subversive activity. And holding independent inquiry into riots and mob violence is tantamount to "encouraging violence".

Wild charges or innuendoes apply an axe to our democratic institutions which are so close to everyone's heart and which we want restored.

(Continued from front page)

towards these men is understandable. But, as we explained in our last issue, the army headquarters has already decided to show leniency to the mutiniers. Of 8,000 odd men who revolted, only 280 have been discharged so far. And all of them have been promised full rehabilitation. A few dozen, who have been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment of two to ten years, are likely to be given a reprieve by the confirming authority. All others have been retained in the army. In other words, what Sardar Badal desired has been granted indirectly.

Sardar Badal also says that he is opposed to "every clause" of the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Why, he has not explained.

Does not he want that Chandigarh should be merged with Punjab on January 26 next, that leftout Punjabi-speaking areas should come to Punjab, that Punjab retain Abohar-Fazilka belt, and that a supreme court judge decide anew the share of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan in Ravi-Beas surplus waters?

Is he opposed to New Delhi's decision to expand the orbit of anti-Sikh riots inquiry to Bokaro and Kanpur and to centre's decision to work for promotion of Punjabi language?

He would do well to place his viewpoints before the community at large, if only to avoid any misunderstanding about his stand.

## A healthy child is a happy child



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